2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:—

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diok num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid-wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [847]

16. Burial.

Ŋ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ kɡɛ́ a ɡ̀wɛ́, ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ɣ̀ dwɛ́, ka ɣyɪ̀ɲɣ̀ kwɛ́, ka ɡ̀ɲ̀ɔ̀ fɛ́, ka ɣyɪ̀ɲɣ̀ ɡ̀ɪ̀, ka lɲ̀ɪ́ tʌ́ŋ̀ɡ̀ɪ̀, ka ɣyɪ̀ɲɣ̀ mɪ̀ɲ̀ɣ̀ mʌ́k, ka ɡ̀ɲ̀ɔ̀ fɛ́, ká ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ wíɣ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀; ka dɣɣ́ kɡ̀ɪ, ka ɣɣɔ̀k[1] kɛ́ɲ̀, ka wɛ́ɪ kwʌ́ɣ̀ kɛ́ kal. Ká wɪ̀ɣ̀ kɡ̀ɪ, ka chwʃ́p, ká jɪ̀ chɪ̀ɲ̀ɡ̀, ka jam kwɪ̀r ɣwɔ́ɔ̀k. Ka dɲ̀ɾ́ kɡ̀ɪ, ka tɣɔ́ kɡ̀ɪ, ka kwɪ́r kɡ̀ɪ, ka ʌ́ɲ̀ɣ̀ kɡ̀ɪ, ka lɪ̀ɲ kɡ̀ɪ; ka tɣɣɔ́ kɛɲ̀ɡ̀ kɣ ʌ́ɣɛ́ kwʌ́ɲ̀ɡ̀, ɲɣɔ́ tʌ́t ɣɛ́ɲ; ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ɣ̀ twɔ́ɔ̀k tɣɣ́ɛ́ ɣɛ́ɲ. Ká ɣɛ́ kɲ̀ɲ̀ɡ̀, ka ɣɣ ʌ́ɔ́ʌ́ɔ́ kwʌ́ɲ̀ɡ̀, ka kwʌ́ɲ̀ɡ̀ kɡ̀ɪ ɣɣ ɣɔ́ɔ̀k, ka wʌ́kɪ́ tɣɣɔ́ kwɛ́ɛ́, ka tɣɣɔ́ kwɛ́ɛ́ kɔ: kɡ̀ɪ kɣ́ɔ̀k! Ka kɲ̀ɔ̀k kɡ̀ɪ, ka ɣɛ́ kɔ: rɣɲ̀ʌ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀! Ka rɣɣ́ kɲ̀ɣ̀, ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ rɣ́ɲ, ka rɣɣ́ɛ́ kɡ̀ɪ, rɣɲ kɲ̀ɣ̀ bʌ́r ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀. Ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ a kwʌ́ʌ́, ka jɪ̀ wɪ̀ɲ̀ɡ̀ ɣɛ́ kwʌ́ʌ́ɣ̀ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀, ka jɪ̀ wɪ̀ɲ̀ɡ̀ yɲ̀ɔ́ɲ́ ɡ̀ɔ́ɔ́ʌ́. Ká ɣyɲ̀ɔ kɡ̀ɪ, ka ɣʌ́r (vʌ́r), ká tʌ́t ɣɛ́ɲ, ká kɪ̀ɪ́ɛ́ fʌ́ʌ́ (tabete). Ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ dwɛ́ kʌ̀l, ka chɣɛɣ́ chwʃ́, ɣ wɪ̀ɲ̀ɛ́ tɣɣ́ɪ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀, ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ kɪ̀ɪ́ɛ́ wíɣ tabete. Ka ʌ́ɔ́ ɣɪ́ɪ́ ɣɛ́ɲ yɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ tɣɣ́ɪ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀, ka ʌ́ɔ́ʌ́ɲ́ chwʃ́, ɣ ɲ̀ɲ́ɔ́ tʌ́k. Ká bʌ́l kɡ̀ɪ, ka dɣɣ́ kɡ̀ɪ, ka dɣɣ́ ɣɔ́ɔ́ʌ́ɛ́ lɔɣ́; ka bʌ́l ɣɔ́ɔ́k. Ka ɲ̀ɔ́ ɣwɣɲ́ɣ́; a tɪ́ɲ́ɛ́ Gɪɣ́ fɛ́ ywɣ́ɲ́, ka jɪ̀ wʌ́ɔ́ʌ́ɲ́. Ka yʌ́ɪ́ ʌ́ʌ́m, ka ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ á rʌ́ɔ́ɲ́ kɪ́ kwʌ́ʌ́ɲ́. Ka kʌ́ʌ́ a kʌ́ɲ̀, ka Gɪɣ́ kwɡ́ʌ́ɛ́ ɣɣɛ́, ka Gɪɣ́ dwɛ́ɣɣ́ fɔ́ɔ́k. Obwʌ́ɣ́ kɡ̀ɪ kɪ́ ɣɣɔ́ʌ́ɲ́, ka ɲ̀ɔ́ fʌ́ʌ́k kɪ́ ɔ́kwɛ́ɣɣ́. Ka ɲ̀ɔ́ kɡ̀ɪ́ fɔ́ɔ́k. Ka fʌ́ɪ́ rɲ́ɔ́ mɔ́ɔ́k, ka kɲ̀ɔ́, ʌ́ɪ́ ɣɣɔ́ʌ́ɲ́ kɲ̀ɔ́ɪ́ ɲ̀ɔ́; ɲ̀ɔ́ ɔ́ ʌ́ɲ̀ɣ̀ʌ́, ka ɲ̀ɔ́ rɣ́ɲ́ɛ́ ʌ́ʌ́ɪ́ ɣɣɛ́ɲ́ ʌ́ɛ́ɛ́ɲ́ɛ́. Ka ɛɣɣɣ́ dwʃ́, ɛɣɛ́ kɪ́ɲ́ɛ́ kwɣɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀ kɪ́ kʌ́ʌ́ɲ́ɣ̀. Ká ɡ̀ɪ̀ɲ́ɛ́ kɡ̀ɪ, kɪ́ ʌ́ɲ̀ɣ̀ʌ́ ʌ́ɣɔ́ɪ́, ka ɛɣɣɣ́ kɡ̀ɪ, kɣɛ́ kwɣɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀. Ka kʌ́ʌ́ɲ́ɣ̀ dwɛ́, ka kɲ̀ɪ́ɛ́ kwɣɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ɪ̀ŋ̀, kɪ́ ɛɛɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ kɪ́ fɪ, ka ɛɣɣɣ́ chɲ̀ɪ́ kɡ̀ɪ, ka chɲ̀ɪ́ kɲ̀ɔ́, ka ɛɣɣ́ chwʃ́p, kɪ́ kʌ́ʌ́ fʌ́ʌ́k, ka Gɪɣ́ ɔ́ wɪ́ʌ́ɲ́, kɪ́ yʌ́ɪ́ ʌ́ʌ́m, ka ɪ́ɲ́ɣ̀ ʌ́ɲ̀ɣ̀ʌ́. Ka dwɛɛ́ fʌ́r, ka Gɪɣ́ kɲ̀ɔ́ɛ́ kɪ́

[1] ɣɣɔ́k ɣɛ́ kɛ́ɲ̀.

754 If a man knows that he is being bewitched he can get the witchdoctor to counteract the bad magic and save him. When he gets old the sorcerer may hire out his powers to help people.(1) It is a serious offence to accuse a man of being a sorcerer unless it can be proved, and an accuser may be heavily fined. A sorcerer must be caught in the act if he is to be legitimately killed.

The Deiyet

Deiyet appear to be the feminine equivalents of the *jalyet*. They are not regarded as being so evil and serious in intent as the *jalyet*.

The Evil Eye (Yuop)

The Shilluk believe firmly in the power of the evil eye and that it is inherited, passing from a parent (male or female) to the children. It may also come suddenly upon a person. Those who possess it try to conceal the power from others.(2) Envy, jealousy or anger causes people with this power to bring illness or misfortune on others who are richer and more fortunate than themselves. The *ajuogo* can counteract the effects of the evil eye by prayer, sacrifice and countermagic.(3)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

844 About three months before her first child is born, a woman leaves her husband and returns to her parents' *gol* for the birth.(4) Immediately after the birth the mother is exhorted to confess all her previous love affairs to the woman acting as midwife and it is believed that were she not to do so she and the baby would die. The child is shown to the father and his friends who wish to see that it is not a monorchid or deformed in any way. In the former case, the child would probably be killed, for it is believed that monorchids grow up to be sorcerers.(5) Cleansing ceremonies are carried out a few days after birth. It is considered wrong to have another child before the previous one has been weaned.

845 Twins are welcomed by the Shilluk. They are called *nwole juok* 'children of god' and have special names. Many ceremonies occur after the birth of twins.

553 Names are given soon after birth and usually refer to some incident which has occurred in the family. The birth name is retained throughout life, although an ox-name and other names are taken later.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

774 According to Seligman every living man has both a *wei* and a *tipo*. The *wei* is breath or life, the *tipo*, shadow or image. In addition, the

(1) Oyler, *S.N.R.* Vol.II, 1919, No.2, p.133. (2) *Ibid.*
(3) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.271. (4) *Ibid.*, p.271.
(5) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.70.

11; Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

II. — THE EVIL MEDICINE MAN.

The Shilluks believe that occult power of a malignant nature is possessed by a certain class of men. The man with this power is called *jel yat* (the first *a* as in lad, the second, as *a* in father and the *t* is a dental). It means the man of the tree, or medicine, as *yat* means either a tree, or the injuring or healing powers of certain compounds, which are usually derived from trees. 754 [192]

The men of this class are all born with the distinguishing mark. Three different marks divide them into three divisions. The first have but one testicle showing in the scrotum; the second have two, but they are very small, and the third have none. The first class is the more numerous, and are the dominating class. The members of the first and second class are supposed to be equal in the manifestation of their powers, but the third are more powerful. 754 826

Children born marked as evil medicine men are thrown into the river at birth, which is called sending them to their own country. The father alone has the power to spare his son in such a case. 845 [847]

The young wife always returns to her own home to give birth to her first child. After that she may either remain in the home of her husband, or go to her old home, but in either case a few hours after the child is born a number of men come to the door of the house and sit down. If the husband is in the village, he is one of the number. If it is in the women's home, her relatives go through this formality. The men say: «What is it?». If the women within reply «a boy», the men then ask: «Is it good?». If the women reply immediately «it is good», the men go away happy, but if the women hesitate or answer: «It is bad», the men go in to investigate. If they find that the child is an evil medicine man, they immediately begin to go through certain forms. When the child is born in the wife's old home, a messenger must be sent off to the father. Should the messenger merely say that a son has been born, and not tell of his deformity the husband can recover part of the cattle he has paid for his wife, and his relatives-in-law become responsible for any damage the child may do. When the father is told that the child is bad, he usually says it must be killed. He [847] 672 845 847

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being :—

Kwor yue ria dhano	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
Kwor yue nian a fur	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	3 head of cattle
Kwor kuobe ria dhano	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	2 head of cattle
Kwor kuobe nian a fur	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own *gol*)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases
837 produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy
844 come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply
627 truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendent midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are
684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many para-
[598] mours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes
[637] there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men
[583] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who
[587] eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a son.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are moved always by God. Thus *yi hal Juok* (you have been brought by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the *Reth* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects used by the *Reth* are called differently from their normal names. There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume owing to their association with the *Reth* are always names of similar but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all his head is his "pebble."

Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about childbirth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will be asked "has your wife found something small?", or "has your wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a woman what is the name of her husband.

These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with brutal frankness "*yi yaci nien*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?") and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage tie.

No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal. Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irrespective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the killer of the man avenged.

Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed. The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to